

Emancipation! Enfranchisement! Reconstruction!

# LEGISLATIVE RECORD

OF

# THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

## DURING AND SINCE THE WAR.

PUBLISHED BY THE UNION REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

A brief record of what has been done in Congress since the slaveholding Democracy begun their causeless rebellion is herewith presented. So much misrepresentation is made that an outline of measures submitted, and of the dates and votes on and by which they were adopted, could not be otherwise than serviceable to all. Every honest, fair-minded man will perceive at once the nature of the struggle. The record herewith offered cannot be more fitly illustrated than by a quotation from a speech of Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice President of the so-called Confederacy, made at Savannah, Ga., March 21, 1868, for the purpose of announcing to the world the reasons held by the Southern leaders for inaugurating their formidable revolutionary attempt. It was intended as a solemn argument for Southern opinion and for the full vindication of their Democratic action. As such it is a fitting contrast to Republican action. Mr. Stephens declares of Mr. Jefferson that "the prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. \* \* \* These ideas were fundamentally wrong. \* \* \* Our new Government (the Confederacy) is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior, is his natural and normal condition."

To this declaration, with its accompanying horrors of terrible war, the starvation of thousands in rebel prisons, the filling of the land, North and South, with graves and mourning households, the terrible taxation superinduced by the cost of suppressing this Democratic and slaveholding rebellion, is presented what the Republican

party has done in the vindication of its principles and in necessary defence of the Republic against Democratic treason.

### THE THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

Special session July 4, 1861, Senator Trumbull, reported from the Senate Judiciary Committee, July 29, 1861, a bill confiscating property used in aid of the rebellion. The Senator offered an additional section, setting free slaves employed by their masters in aid of armed insurrection. Many were employed to build military works, &c. An exciting debate ensued. All the Democratic Senators opposed it. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, who had been that party's candidate for President the year before against Mr. Lincoln, denounced the proposition as the beginning of a series of measures sure to lead "to a general confiscation of all property and a loosing of all bonds." When the bill passed the Senate, July 23, every Democrat voted against, every Republican for. The bill passed the House of Representatives, after a similar debate, August 3, (every Democrat voting "no,") and was signed by Mr. Lincoln and became law on the 6th of August, 1861.

On the 25th day of February, 1862, at the first regular session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, an additional article of war, forbidding and punishing the return of fugitives by either naval or military officers, passed the House. On the 10th of March it passed the Senate. On the 13th it was approved by the President. It was opposed by the Democrats in every stage of its progress.

Senator Wilson, (Republican,) on the 4th of December, 1861, introduced a resolution looking toward the emancipation of all slaves in the District of Columbia. On the 24th of February, 1862, he offered a bill providing for this grand result. It passed the Senate, April 3. Every Republican voted for, every Democrat against it.

The owners were to be compensated out of the Treasury according to an award to be made by commissioners appointed for the purpose. It passed the House on the 11th of April, and was signed by President Lincoln, April 16, 1862. By this act THREE THOUSAND persons were made free.

On the 6th of March, 1862, President Lincoln, by special message, recommended Congress to pass a joint resolution, offering on the part of the United States to cooperate with any State desiring to gradually abolish slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid in support of the action.

On the 10th of March Mr. Roscoe Conkling (Republican) offered a joint resolution covering the ground suggested by Mr. Lincoln. After a stormy debate, in which all the Democrats opposed its passage, and the policy of emancipation it sustained, it passed the House on the 11th of March by a vote of 89 for, all Republican, and 31 against, all Democrats. It passed the Senate after long debate, April 2, all but one Democrat (Garrett Davis, Kentucky) voting against it. The President signed it April 10, 1862.

On the 24th of March, 1862, Mr. Arnold, (Republican,) of Illinois, introduced into the House a bill prohibiting slavery forever in any of the Territories of the United States. On the 8th day of May Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, reported the measure from committee to the House. On the 12th day of May it passed, 85 Republicans voting "aye" and 50 Democrats voting "no." It was taken up in the Senate on the 15th of May. On the 9th of June it was discussed, amended, and passed by a vote of 22 yeas to 10 nays, every Democrat present voting in the minority. It was passed by the House on the 17th of June, approved by Mr. Lincoln, and thus made law, June 19, 1862. By this act half of the area of the United States was secured forever to freedom.

Mr. Pomeroy, of Kansas, on the 16th of July, 1861, introduced into the Senate a bill setting forth that, as slavery caused the rebellion, then forcing a life and death struggle on the nation, therefore slavery should be declared abolished in all States in arms against the Government. This was the first anti-slavery measure offered by the Republicans in Congress. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee. Various propositions grew out of the discussion. The debate over them lasted from December, 1861, to July, 1862. The delay was wholly caused by Democratic opposition. Finally, a bill originally offered by Senator Clark, New Hampshire, passed the Senate, June 23. It went to the House, was amended, again referred to a committee of conference, and finally passed the House July 11, 1862, by a vote of 82 Republicans to 42 Democrats. On the 12th the Senate

passed it by a party vote of 27 Republicans to 12 Democrats. On the 17th of July it received the approval of Mr. Lincoln and became a law.

This enactment provided that all slaves of persons aiding the rebellion coming within our lines, or deserted by their masters and coming within our control, and all slaves found in places occupied by the rebel armies and captured by our troops, should be deemed captives of war, and be forever made free; also, that slaves should not be surrendered; that any person in the military or naval service so surrendering them should be punished.

Prior to the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as President, March 4, 1861, the Government was controlled in the interests of slavery. The United States was at the time the only civilized government refusing to recognize the national existence of the Republics of Liberia and Hayti, solely because the people thereof were persons of African descent.

On the 4th of March, 1862, Senator Charles Sumner reported a bill for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the countries named. It passed the Senate April 24, 1862—all the Democrats voting "no." During their discussion, Democratic Senators, indulged in ridicule at the idea of seeing a man of color recognized in a diplomatic capacity. The bill passed the House June 3, 1862, and became a law by the approval of Mr. Lincoln on the 5th of the same month.

On the 9th of April, 1862, Senator Grimes, of Iowa, introduced a bill providing that ten per cent. of the taxes collected from the colored residents of the District of Columbia should be set aside for the education of colored children in the District. It was stated that the amount of taxable property belonging to colored persons in the District was valued at \$650,000. On this a tax of \$36,000 was paid. The school ten per cent. would be \$3,600. It appeared that under the slaveholding municipal rule *the taxes paid by colored persons were used to educate white children only.* Until the 1st of June, 1863, when the Republicans elected the Mayor of Washington, the Democratic city authorities had in every way resisted the payment to the colored schools of the amount authorized by Congress to be so paid, and a large amount yet remains due the school funds.

On the 8th of May, Senator Wilson, (Rep.,) Massachusetts, offered an additional section, providing for the abolition of all ordinances, laws, &c., which within the District made odious distinctions against the colored people. The laws thus to be repealed were made under the system of slavery, and were very oppressive in their character. The bill, as amended, passed the Senate May 9, by a vote of 29

Republicansto 7 Democrats. It passed the House on the 15th, and became a law by Mr. Lincoln's approval May 17, 1862.

On the 23d of June, Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, offered a bill in the House for the establishment of a Board of Trustees to take charge of the colored schools of the District, and to whom the *pro rata* of taxes was to be paid. The object was to ensure the establishment of the schools, as the Democratic city government refused to put them in operation. This bill became a law, against the opposition of all the Democrats in Congress, on the 11th of July, 1862.

Under Democratic misrule the American flag was openly used to cover the infamous African slave trade—a traffic so inhuman that the framers of the Constitution inserted a provision for its early cessation. They thus expressed their abhorrence of a traffic at a time when its practice was recognized by all commercial nations. As soon as the Republicans obtained power they set at work to enforce treaties made for its suppression.

On the 12th of June, 1862, Senator Sumner reported a bill for that purpose. It provided for judges and arbitrators to be appointed at points suitable for making decisions with relation to vessels captured as slavers. The only speech made in the Senate against it was by Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware—a Democrat. Four Democrats voted "nay." The bill passed the House on the 7th of July, and was approved by Mr. Lincoln on the 11th of July, 1862.

An additional bill was passed by both houses and became a law on the 17th of July, 1862.

Mr. Lincoln enforced the law of nations with regard to this traffic by the trial as a pirate of one Gordon, captured while engaged in the African slave trade. This was in marked contrast to the action of Democratic Executives. A prominent Southern Democrat, one Captain Lamar, of Savannah, Ga., openly violated the laws, and, in 1859 or 1860, landed a cargo of native Africans on the coast of Georgia, who were immediately sold as slaves. Lamar is recognized as a leading Democrat, and, of course, was an active rebel.

On the 12th of July, 1862, Senator Wilson, as chairman of Committee on Military Affairs, reported to the Senate a bill for the organization of the militia, and to suppress insurrection. Under its provisions the President was to be authorized to receive colored men into military service, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or other labor, or any military service for which they might be found competent. When so enrolled, the man, his mother, wife, and children were to be forever declared free. The debate over the bill was long and earnest. The Democrats fought it at every stage.

The bill passed the Senate on the 15th of July, by a vote of 28 yeas and 9 nays, all but one of the latter being Democrats. It passed the House on the 16th, and became a law, by approval of Mr. Lincoln, on the 17th of July, 1862.

The first authorized military organization of colored men was made under this law. Senator James H. Lane, of Kansas, acting as Commissioner of Recruiting, under authority of the War Department, raised one regiment of colored men, mustered in as volunteer infantry. This organization was begun on the 4th of August. It fought the first engagement with rebels in which colored men served, October 26, 1862, nine weeks before the proclamation of emancipation was issued by Mr. Lincoln. This regiment was mustered out of service, November, 1865.

On the 22d day of September, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation, announcing that on the first day of January, 1863, he should issue another proclamation declaring free all persons held as slaves within such States and districts as should be therein named.

In accordance with the terms of this prefatory instrument, Abraham Lincoln, on the first day of January, 1863, did issue a proclamation of emancipation, *declaring all slaves free forever* within the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, excepting only certain designated portions of Louisiana and Virginia occupied by our troops, and in which the slaves had become practically free. By this act over three millions of persons were from chattels made men and women in the eye of the law. The same proclamation also authorized the enlistment of colored men into the army and navy.

On the 17th of February, 1863, Senator Wilson introduced a bill to incorporate an institution for the education of colored youths, to be located in the District of Columbia. Even this measure met with great opposition from the Democrats, one of them declaring he could not "see any good reason why the Government of the United States should enter upon the scheme of educating negroes." The bill passed the Senate, February 27, by a vote of 27 yeas to 9 noes, the latter being all Democrats. It passed the House on the 2d of March, and was approved next day by Mr. Lincoln.

In the second session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, February 10, 1864, a bill enrolling all able-bodied persons for military purposes was amended by striking out one of its sections and inserting in substance "that all able-bodied male persons of African descent between the ages of twenty and forty-five, whether citizens or not, shall be enrolled and made a part of the na-

tional forces; and, when enrolled and drafted into the service, his master shall be entitled to receive three hundred dollars, and the drafted man shall be free." It was modified so as to provide only for payment to loyal masters, and afterwards by reducing the bounty paid to one hundred dollars. Afterwards the Thirty-Ninth Congress suspended the payment of all such bounties, January 14, 1867. The vote stood in the House 107 Republicans to 36 Democrats. The enrolment bill as passed made all colored men liable to draft, and, if a slave at the time, made himself and family free.

A movement for the appropriation of money to compensate the border States for the emancipation of their slaves was begun by Senator Wilson, March 7, 1862. Several propositions followed, and a long discussion ensued, terminating in the Senate by the passage of a bill granting ten million dollars as compensation to Missouri for such emancipation, February 12, 1863. The bill was lost by the dilatory motion of the Democrats in the House at the close of the session.

Hon. James M. Ashley, (Rep.,) of Ohio, introduced into the Thirty-Eighth Congress, December 14, 1863, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, declaring slavery forever abolished. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and it was favorably reported to the House.

Senator Henderson, of Missouri, on the 11th of January, 1864, introduced a similar proposition. It was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee. This is the amendment finally adopted, and now known as Article Fourteen of the Constitution.

Amendments and substitutes were offered by Mr. Sumner and other Senators. The discussion continued; Democratic Senators resisting its passage at every stage, from the date of introduction until the 8th of April, 1864. The vote stood 33 ayes to 6 noes, only one Democrat (Senator Nesmith, of Oregon,) voting in the affirmative.

Debate on the amendment begun in the House on the 31st of May, 1864, and it was rejected, then reconsidered on the 5th of December following, and finally passed the House, after an exciting debate on Tuesday, January 27, 1865, by a vote of 119 yeas to 57 nays, the latter being all Democrats. Three Democrats only voted for this beneficial act. The amendment, as finally incorporated into the Constitution as article fourteen, is as follows:

SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The infamous fugitive slave act of 1850 was early attacked by the Republican party,

after slavery flung down the gauntlet by acts of treason. Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, introduced, December 26, the first proposition to repeal that odious act. It was detained in committee and reported back adversely, February 11, 1863.

Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, Senator Wilson, of Mass., Thaddeus Stevens, of Penna., and Mr. Julian, of Indiana, introduced propositions to repeal this law in the Thirty-Eighth Congress. On the 8th of February, 1864, Mr. Sumner introduced a bill to repeal the law named. It was referred to a special committee. The House bills introduced by Messrs. Ashley, Stevens, and Julian were referred to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Morris, (Republican,) of New York, on the 6th of June, reported a bill from the committee. It passed on the 13th of June, 1864. The vote stood—82 yeas, and 57 nays. No Democrat voted for the repeal. On the 23d of June the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 27 Republicans to 12 Democrats and Conservatives. It was approved by Mr. Lincoln June 23, 1864.

On the 11th of June, 1864, a bill finally passed and became a law by which the pay, &c., of the colored soldier was made equal in all respects to that of the white soldier. The inequalities hitherto existing were owing to the strenuous opposition of Democrats in Congress to every measure equalizing the pay and bounties.

The attempt to pass a law organizing the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known in current history as the "Freedmen's Bureau," begun in the Senate January 12, 1863, by Mr. Wilson presenting a memorial from Massachusetts, praying the establishment of a bureau of emancipation. A bill for that purpose was introduced into the House by Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts, on the 19th of January. This passed the House on the 24th of February. In the Senate it was referred to Mr. Sumner's select committee on slavery, by whom a substitute was reported on the 12th of April. It passed the Senate June 28, went to the House, was postponed till the next session, and passed early in 1865.

Bills were introduced during the regular session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress by which the use of the District of Columbia jail as a place of confinement for slaves, fugitive or otherwise, was forbidden. President Lincoln, by Executive order dated January 25, 1862, directed the suppression of the abuses complained of.

On the 2d of July, 1862, a bill declaring that no person's testimony shall be excluded by any United States court, on account of their color or former condition, became law by approval of the President. It was bitterly opposed by the Democrats.

The same law contained a provision prohibiting the coast-wise inter-State slave

trade. The Democrats opposed this also.

Before the war, colored men were forbidden to contract for or carry United States mails. Mr. Sumner moved in the Senate, March 18, 1862, to remove all such restrictions. The Democrats opposed it and voted against the measure. It finally passed, after bitter opposition, in 1864.

Through the exertions of Mr. Sumner, a bill prohibiting distinctions on account of race or color in the public conveyances of the District was passed, after considerable Democratic opposition, and became law on the 21st of June, 1863.

Another of the series of measures rendered necessary by the attitude of the Southern Democracy toward the loyal people, black and white, in their midst was proposed by Senator Wilson. It provided for the disbandment of the so-called State militia organized under the governments instituted by Mr. Johnson's plan of restoration. This armed force was used chiefly to coerce the colored people, and enforce laws which practically made them serfs or slaves of society.

In the latter portion of the second session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress, Mr. Kasson, of Iowa, introduced and carried through two measures intended to make effective the anti-slavery amendment, and to prevent the evasion of the civil rights law. In the first instance, a system of apprenticeship for colored children had grown up in former slave States, by which they were virtually made slaves again. Thousands of colored children, in Maryland and Kentucky especially, were thus illegally bound to servitude. In other cases the so-called Southern State Legislatures, restored under Mr. Johnson's policy, had provided numerous offences, the penalty of which was public sale for the offender. Sales were made of colored paupers, so-called, and by the system inaugurated purposely made vagrants, in order to sell in the manner alluded to. These same Legislatures had passed laws by which whipping and similar punishments were to be inflicted on negroes. These were all prohibited under heavy penalties. In the discussion the Democrats opposed both measures on the ground that they interfered with the "reserved rights" of the States. They voted against them on the same ground. Their idea of States rights is the right to whip, brand, oppress, and enslave the poor. The Republican policy is that of protection to all in the degree rendered necessary by local tyranny and prejudices, as embodied in laws or working through unjust and oppressive customs.

Mr. Sidney Clarke, of Kansas, also introduced and carried a resolution in the Thirty-Ninth Congress, and Senator Wilson introduced and carried in the first session of the Fortieth Congress, a bill abolishing the systems of peonage and Indian

slavery existing in the Territory of New Mexico. After it was seen that the local authorities failed to enforce its provisions, a resolution requiring General Sherman, as military commander of the Indian country, to see that the law was carried out, was passed at the close of the second session of the Fortieth Congress, and by this act the last vestige of slavery, as an organized system, was swept from the United States.

Such were the leading anti-slavery measures of the Thirty-Seventh and Thirty-Eighth Congresses—those of the war, and in the Thirty-Ninth, which assembled at the close. Besides these legislative acts, however, and Mr. Lincoln's noble proclamation of emancipation, other acts were being performed under the lead of the great Republican movement. Maryland, Missouri, Virginia, and West Virginia abolished slavery in their borders. Illinois and other Northern States repealed their black laws, discriminating against a colored man's civil rights, enacted by the Democracy when in power. The Attorney General officially proclaimed the colored man to be a citizen, and the Supreme Court of the United States admitted him to practice therein.

The debates on the reconstruction of the rebel States begun in the Thirty-Seventh Congress, by the introduction of a bill to reorganize them as Territories, December 26, 1861. It continued through the Thirty-Eighth Congress until the close of field operations, but no bill became law. One, framed by the late Henry Winter Davis, passed, but failed to receive Mr. Lincoln's approval. Congress therein made the first record of its right to decide this question. The war proceeded to its close. Lee surrendered the rebel armies to our great soldier, General U. S. GRANT. The bullet of a Democratic assassin, John Wilkes Booth, took the life of our great President, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and the Vice President, Andrew Johnson, constitutionally assumed the duties of the office. The Thirty-Ninth Congress did not meet until the usual date in December, 1865. In the meanwhile Mr. Johnson, by proclamation and orders, had undertaken the work of restoration. He appointed Provisional Governors, declared who should be voters, by which he excluded the emancipated millions who were loyal, as well as a few thousands of the leading rebels, and left the work of reorganizing civil governments to the great body of those who fought to destroy the General Government. In his message to Congress the President denied the authority of that branch of the Government to supervise his action. While he thus proclaimed his action a finality, the State governments established under his plan were busily engaged through legislation in endeavoring to reduce the freed



people to the condition of serfdom. They could not reestablish slavery for the benefit of a master; so they sought by unjust laws to make the colored man the vassal or slave of society. To this result the Republican majority in Congress decidedly objected.

The first step taken by the Thirty-Ninth Congress was the appointment of a joint Committee on Reconstruction, to whom the President's message and all matters relating to the rebel States were to be referred. A very acrimonious discussion arose over the proposition originally offered by Thaddeus Stevens. The House ordered the committee, on the 4th of December, 1865, by a vote of 133 to 36, the nays being, with a few exceptions, all Democratic. It passed the Senate on the 12th of December, by a vote of 33 to 11. To this committee was referred the credentials of all persons claiming seats in Congress under the Johnson organizations. Various resolutions were passed on these points, and the debate was long and brilliant.

On the 5th of January, 1866, Mr. Trumbull reported a bill "to protect all persons in their civil rights." It was referred and again reported on the 11th of the same month. It provided that there should be no discrimination in civil rights on account of color, race, or previous condition of slavery; but the inhabitants of every race or color should have the same right to make and enforce contracts, &c., and *should be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.* On the 2d of February the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 33 to 12. There were four then known as Republican Senators who voted with the Democrats. They have since identified themselves with that party. After a long debate the bill passed the House, amended and made more effective, on the 13th of March by a vote of 111 to 38. It was concurred in by the Senate, sent to the President, and vetoed by him in an elaborate message opposing the beneficent policy of the Republican party, and passed over his veto in the Senate on the 6th of April, 1866, by a vote of 33 to 15, and in the House on the 9th by a vote of 122 to 41. Of the latter all but two or three were Democrats.

On the 5th of January, 1866, Mr. Trumbull offered a bill to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau. This bill was the corollary of the civil rights act, and enabled the policy of that measure to become effective in the late rebel States. On the 25th of January the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 37 yeas and 10 nays. On the 6th of February the House passed the bill by a vote of 136 yeas to 33 nays. The

President vetoed the bill, and it passed both houses on the 19th and 20th of February, 1866.

An amended Freedmen's Bureau bill was reported to the House by Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts, on the 22d of May, 1866. It continued the bureau for two years. It also made provisions for aiding the settlement of the public lands of the South, and in place of the sea islands, given to the freedmen by General Sherman in 1865, and restored to the former rebel owners by President Johnson, directed that the Commissioner of the Bureau should provide other lands for the occupants, to be paid for by them according to General Sherman's original order. Another section embodies the provisions of the civil rights bill, and directs the bureau officers to see them enforced. The bill passed, was vetoed, and finally became into law July 16, 1866, by a vote of 104 to 33 in the House, and in the Senate by a vote of 33 to 12. In both cases all the negatives were cast by Democrats.

Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Special Committee on Reconstruction, reported, February 20, 1866, a resolution directing that no State lately in rebellion should be admitted to representation until Congress shall have declared such State entitled to representation. The purpose was clear, and it distinctly announced the right of Congress to control the mode of restoration of the States which President Johnson declared in his North Carolina proclamation "were without civil government." The resolution passed by a vote of 109 to 40. The debate in the Senate was very earnest. It passed on the 28th of February, by a vote of 29 to 18.

During the first session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress various propositions to amend the Constitution were made. They aimed at three points: 1. The more radical statesmen proposed to provide for impartial suffrage. 2. Another proposition looked to protection of civil rights and equality in representation, declaring that a State disfranchising persons on account of race or color should not have those persons counted in the basis of representation. 3. The other object was the security of the national debt and of the payment of pensions, which the Southern Democrats, having become reinvigorated by Mr. Johnson's policy, were threatening openly to repudiate. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens and Mr. Sumner were the chief movers in these propositions. On the 30th of April, 1866, Mr. Stevens reported the resolutions, which, somewhat amended, have since become part of the National Constitution. The resolutions, after a vigorous debate, passed the House by a vote of 123 to 37, the latter being all Democrats. In the Senate, somewhat changed the amendment passed on the 8th of June by a vote of 33 to 11. It

was agreed to by the House on the 13th by a vote of 120 to 32. As submitted to the States and ratified by the Legislatures of twenty-eight, article fourteen of the Constitution reads as follows:

ARTICLE 14—SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

In the Senate, December 4, 1865, Senator Wade introduced a bill providing for universal adult male suffrage in the District of Columbia. In the House, on the 5th, Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, offered a similar bill. It was reported by the Judiciary Committee to the House December 18, 1865, and passed, after a long debate, on the 18th of January, 1866, by a vote of 116 to 56—the negative vote including several Republicans. The bill did not pass the Senate until the second session, when, on the 11th of December, 1866, it received a vote of 32 yeas to 13 nays. The President vetoed it, and Congress promptly passed it by a vote in the House of 113 yeas to 38 nays, and in the Senate by 29 yeas to 10 nays.

Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, on the 24th of April, 1866, introduced a bill directing,

among other acts, that within the Territories of the United States there should be no denial of suffrage on account of race, color, or former condition. The bill passed by a vote of 79 to 43. In the Senate, on the 10th of January, 1867, the same bill also passed by a vote of 24 to 7.

During the first session the State of Tennessee appeared and asked admission to representation. A favorable report was made, through John A. Bingham, by a majority of the Reconstruction Committee, upon the 5th of May, 1866. A minority report was made, and two Republican members dissented because the State had not granted loyal impartial suffrage. No action was then taken. On the 20th of July, 1866, another resolution of admission was reported. The preamble sets forth the fact that the State had acknowledged paramount allegiance, due to the Union and had shown a proper spirit of obedience to the laws and Constitution. The resolution passed by a vote of 125 to 12. Several Democrats voted with the Republicans. The Senate amended the resolution and it passed by a vote of 28 to 4. Tennessee was admitted to representation on the 22d of July, 1866, and became the first Southern State restored to the Union upon the basis of impartial loyal suffrage.

After the introduction of a number of propositions looking to the restoration of the rebel States upon the basis of equal rights, and long and able discussions upon them, lasting through the first and second sessions of the Thirty-Ninth Congress, the first reconstruction act passed the United States Senate by a vote of 27 yeas to 10 nays, February 17, 1867. The House refused to concur in the Senate bill. After some discussion the House amended the bill, and on the 20th of February it passed by a vote of 126 to 46—all the Democrats, with a few Republicans, voting no. On the same day the Senate concurred by a vote of 35 to 7. The President vetoed the bill, and it passed over the veto on the 2d of March, 1867.

The first section divided the ten States lately in rebellion into five Military Districts. The second directs that a military officer, not less in rank than a Brigadier General, should be detailed to command. The third details the duties of said officer, as being to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals. He was to do this by the local provisional tribunals, or by military commissions. The fourth required no unnecessary delay in trial, &c. The fifth provides for an election, authorizes impartial suffrage, limiting it only by loyalty. The sixth declares that the governments existing in said States are provisional and subject to the paramount authority of the United States.

The Fortieth Congress assembled on the 4th of March, 1867, immediately upon the adjournment of the Thirty-Ninth. The session did not last long, and the principal work was the passage of a supplementary reconstruction act, rendered necessary, it was evident, by omissions in the first, and the condition of the South. It related chiefly to the mode of registration, and the special feature was a requirement that a majority of the voters registered should vote affirmatively for the constitutional conventions and on the instruments they should frame. Afterward the Democratic opposition took advantage of this provision, intended to prevent a minority ruling the new organizations, and in the case of Alabama, by staying away themselves and forcibly preventing the colored voters from going to the polls, attempted to prevent the success of reconstruction. They partially succeeded there. This bill passed March 7, 1867.

A session of Congress was held in the summer of 1867, rendered necessary by attempts of Mr. Johnson, through an opinion of the Attorney General, to nullify and render nugatory these acts. A brief supplementary act was passed, receiving the support of all the Republicans and the opposition of all the Democrats. This measure declared the true intent of the previous reconstruction act, provided for the removal of disloyal officers, and more clearly defined and enforced the duties of district commanders. The bill passed (July 19, 1867,) the House over the veto by a vote of 108 to 25, and the Senate, on the same day, by a vote of 30 to 6.

At the second session of the Fortieth Congress, the reconstruction plans had progressed so far that several of the late rebel States were ready for recognition.

On the 11th of March, 1868, Congress amended the reconstruction acts so as to allow a majority of the votes cast to ratify the new constitutions. The Republicans all voted for this, the Democrats against it.

On the 22d of June, 1868, an act was passed admitting the State of Arkansas to representation. This measure was adopted with a fundamental condition attached, that by the State no "denial or abridgement of the elective franchise, or of any other right, to any person by reason of race or color" should ever be made. The vote on its passage over the veto was, in the House, 103 yeas (all Republicans) to 27 nays (all Democrats;) in the Senate the vote stood—yeas 30, nays 7, the latter being Democrats.

On the 25th of June, 1868, after considerable debate and vigorous Democratic opposition, culminating in a Presidential veto, Congress passed a bill with the same conditions as in the case of Arkansas, admitting to representation the reconstructed

States of Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida. The vote on final passage in the House stood—107 Republicans *for*, and 31 Democrats *against*; in the Senate, 35 to 8, the former Republicans all, and the latter Democrats.

During the same session a bill prohibiting the counting of the Electoral College votes of the three States—Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas—still unrepresented, was passed against the strenuous opposition of the Democracy and of Mr. Johnson. In his veto message, the latter declared that the new governments recognized by Congress were revolutionary in character.

So the issue stands. Congress has, under its reconstruction policy, reorganized and recognized eight out of eleven States, entirely unrepresented when armed rebellion closed, and then as President Johnson declared, "deprived of all civil government." The governments thus reorganized by Congress in the exercise of its constitutional duty under section four of article four of the Federal Constitution, that "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government," are assailed by the platform of one of the great parties—the Democracy—as "unconstitutional, revolutionary, null and void" in character.

These governments, thus opposed, establish civil and political equality for all men; provide for the establishment of common schools, open to all; for equality of taxation; for the security of the homestead and of the poor man's labor by a lien on property. They recognize freedom of the press, free discussion, and liberty of conscience. They maintain the paramount allegiance of a citizen to the Union; they recognize the sacred obligation incurred in the national debt, and they have accepted fundamental conditions which forbid the future disfranchisement of men on account of color or race.

The success of the Republican party by the election of their Presidential nominees, General U. S. GRANT and Honorable SCHUYLER COLFAX, will insure the success of the first beneficent policy. The prayer of the loyal millions—"Let us have peace"—will be an accomplished fact. The election of the Democratic candidates, *Horatio Seymour and Francis P. Blair, Jr.*, will insure the temporary triumph of oppression and the permanent inauguration of anarchy and war. CHOOSE YE, WHICH YOU WILL, OH, PEOPLE OF AMERICA! THE WORK OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS BEFORE YOU. THE RECORD IS COMPLETE. LIBERTY ITS DESIRE, EQUALITY ITS WISH, PROTECTION TO ALL FOR ALL RIGHTS ITS DESIGN, AND AMELIORATION AND PROGRESS ITS SURE RESULT.